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584 762 152

the faveira with his bush-knife. In 1936 I was shown the spot and found the tree trunk lying on the ground in decay.

584 604 593

On the other hand, I know of cases in which a maternal uncle forbade his niece to marry a young lad who was obviously going to be a bad husband. In general, when marriage is in question a girl always consults her mother's brother in addition to her mother. Nyunkré, the daughter of my "sister" Pụrākwẹ'i, delayed her wedding for nearly half a year, waiting for my return to get my consent, notwithstanding the presence of another maternal uncle who had raised no objections to the marriage. On the other hand, a father never interferes in a girl's amatory or matrimonial affairs.

586 626 837

Even at present these people adhere to the principle that marriage with a virgin is indissoluble except on grounds of adultery and grave maltreatment. If either spouse indicates an intention to rupture the bond, he has to reckon with the disapproval of fellow-members of all the social units to which he belongs: they will publicly condemn him, send him a hąpín or a professional peacemaker, and bear down upon him until he yields. During a hunting trip a wakõkama had fallen in love with a wanton such as is always likely to accompany an expedition of this sort. On his return he did not wish to go back to his wife. The negotiations consumed several days, then two members of his age class seized him by his arms, dragging him at a trot to his wife's house, while the other classmates followed behind, laid him on the bed beside his wife, and made the two intertwine arms and legs. Thus the affair was settled. I witnessed the scene myself; the culprit's face is unforgettable: he almost died of humiliation and offered not the least resistance.

Similarly Pohl writes of the Põrekamekra:

> Ein solches Ehebündnis ist durchaus unauflöslich, und wenn es einem Indianer einfiele, sich von seinem Weibe zu trennen, was schon einigen in den Sinn kam, besonders wenn die Weiber früh alterten, so widersetzt sich die ganze Gemeinde einem solchen Vorhaben, und alle alten Indianer, deren Autorität von den jüngeren sehr geachtet wird, verhalten den Sträflichen zur Ordnung.[188]

PROHIBITED UNIONS

582

For the present Indians the principle of moiety exogamy is hardly of consequence any more, but marriage between relatives of the first and second degree in the ascending or descending line is tabooed. When I encountered one instance of cross-cousin marriage while constructing the diagrams illustrating name transference, my informant explained, "Yes, there are human beings as shameless as that!" The union of persons connected by the hąpín bond is likewise prohibited.

SORORATE AND LEVIRATE

587 607

I know of not a single case of a widower's marrying his deceased wife's sister, though in at least one instance this would have been easily possible. This is all the more remarkable because of the considerable familiarity permitted toward a wife's sister even from the period of betrothal on, so that I was sometimes in doubt which of the sisters was the wife. In 1930 the Rąmkõ'kamekra had pretty well decided on marrying me to Iromkré as soon as her term of office as vụ'tẹ' would terminate. Since this was not before 1933 I feigned ignorance of their intentions. Iromkré herself was quite sure of the part assigned to her, but as a vụ'tẹ' was obliged to maintain the proper reserve. On the other hand, her greatest pleasure was to throw her sister Kentapí and me together for playful social intercourse, which her mother obviously encouraged. Subsequently, a year before the close of her term, Iromkré married the second commandant of the kapranpotíkama, Kapẽrtuk.

[188] Reise, 2:196.

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587 Within the whole span of my experience I observed a single instance of the levirate, an elderly widower marrying his younger brother's widow. It struck me as an exceptional case. There certainly was not the least obligation for such a step; on the contrary, several Indians seemed to regard the affair as a bit peculiar and the manner in which the man concerned, my "brother," chief Kukrãčą', told me about it sounded almost apologetic.

MATRILOCAL RESIDENCE; IN-LAWS

591 [758] There is strict matrilocalism; even if a husband builds a separate dwelling for his wife, it is invariably erected beside her mother's. I know of no instance of a woman's spending as much as a single night in her husband's mother's house except to tend him during a serious illness, for in that case he would invariably be conveyed to his maternal home. Sometimes, as noted, a niece may be raised in her paternal aunt's house.

578 592 As a rule a young husband plays a very modest part in his mother-in-law's house. If his conduct is disapproved of, he is not indeed turned out of doors, but the other inmates simply ignore him. Unless, then, the union is of the indissoluble type, the poor fellow either turns over a new leaf or takes his sleeping mat, either returning to his mother's dwelling or joining his age class in the plaza.

606 607 During the first years of wedlock a man never communicates directly with his parents-in-law, his wife serving as an intermediary for either party. In the course of time—especially after the arrival of children—the rule is relaxed, that is, at first only between father-in-law and son-in-law, who henceforth converse with fair freedom from restraint. Finally, the wife's mother also addresses her daughter's husband, though a certain reserve is maintained inasmuch as they avoid meeting or addressing each other when by themselves. In case of a chance encounter the son-in-law gives the woman a wide berth.

On the other hand, a husband is quite free in his intercourse with his wife's brothers. In several instances I was struck by their inconsiderate use of the husband's personal property, and a certain Nyõhí once confidentially complained to me about the tyranny of his brothers-in-law. Connections by marriage never address each other by their names, but use the proper kinship terms unless they are each other's hąpín or kwą'nõ, which makes them substitute these terms. A woman calls a man "my son-in-law" even after the dissolution of the marriage.

421 593 A good son-in-law is, above all, expected to lay out a plantation for his wife and to supply her with meat. Many couples remain in the wife's maternal home for good; some erect one for themselves, but this always belongs to the wife, even after divorce, notwithstanding the fact that it was built by her husband.

552 554 From the matrilocal organization, coupled with feminine house and field ownership, as well as control of the children, it follows that the husband as such plays a minor role, his influence resting on personal merit. With the lapse of time some may thus attain an important position, others remain subordinate all their lives. In no circumstances is there any question of masculine dominance over a wife and children.

177 562 736 The contact with civilization, facilitating housebuilding and agriculture through the introduction of iron tools, enhanced the importance of women, while that of men rather decreased through the elimination of war and the diminution of hunting. A widow's destitution, a disowned wife's misery, a couple's quarrel over the control of their offspring—these are matters known to the Canella only as occurring among their civilized neighbors. After the husband's death the widow and her

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

768 After the husband's death the widow and her
886 children are shielded from want by her brothers and sisters. A widower normally returns to his mother's house. He is really the one more deserving of pity, especially after decades of wedlock, when he is too old to remarry. Accordingly, two old widowers with adult daughters did not take the trouble to move to their matrilineal home, but for the rest of their lifetime remained with their girls. On the other hand, young widowers who contemplate remarriage leave the house of the deceased a few days after the death even if there should be issue. However, father and children visit each other, the former occasionally bringing the youngsters a gift consisting of victuals and in turn being entertained by them.

585 When a man moves into his mother-in-law's home, his social position alters only
571 with reference to this new relationship to the inmates of the house and to his age class in so far as he ceases to sleep with the bachelors in the plaza. Otherwise his social activities hardly suffer any change; of the many social units with which he is affiliated only the family takes cognizance of the cleavage between married and single men.

591 Strictly speaking, a husband cannot be said to "move" from his maternal to
593 his mother-in-law's home; he rather becomes a member of two households simultaneously, and I have always had the impression that he feels the bond with his mother's house as far closer than with his wife's. This is quite natural since the former is indestructible, while the latter may be dissolved any day. For example, a married man continues to turn over part of his game to his mother's household or has his wife do so. Either alone or in the company of his wife he will often spend a part of the day with his mother, who prepares food for both spouses. Usually a man also keeps part of his personal belongings at his mother's—if for no other reason, in order to preserve them from encroachments by his brothers-in-law. Further, as indicated above, a man who falls seriously ill goes back to his
[764] mother's, usually with his wife, to remain there till his recovery. If it is at all possible, a Timbira dies at his mother's house, where the corpse is invariably laid out.

604 At his mother's a man always is respected and decisively influences his sister's
[726] children, for whose support he is in part responsible in an emergency. His role in a niece's marriage has been noted; anciently, a nephew was his preordained companion in a raid against enemies and preceded him in an attack.

664 After the official council session and the subsequent chat in the plaza, that is,
512 about 7:30 P.M., the dignitaries and their male auditors by no means depart
593 straightaway to their wives, each rather regularly betaking himself to his matrilineal home, where he is an expected guest at that hour. As soon as he has seated himself there on a bed, his mother, sister, or niece serves him some food that has always been previously prepared for him. Not until he has eaten and uttered his opinion on family affairs does he leave for his wife's home.

MOURNING

765 Whenever a married Indian goes on a protracted journey—say, a begging jaunt
484 to one of the coastal state capitals—his wife goes into a mourner's seclusion until
593 his return. This retreat differs from that customary after a death only through the lack of lamentation and its possibly much greater duration. The woman ceases to cut her hair and to paint herself, puts on no decorative object, does not appear publicly, holds conversation only with her house mates, and rarely leaves her platform bed. Kentapí thus mourned over her absent husband from the beginning of August, 1930, until the beginning of April, 1931. Snr. Marcellino Miranda, the

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Indian agent at Barra do Corda, was astounded at this behavior when he came to the village, utilizing the occasion to give the girl, then thirteen or fourteen years old, news received of her husband. Contrary to his expectations, she at first refused to leave her partitioned retreat within the house; when he called her, she got her mother to beg him to speak while she listened behind the partition. The agent, whose curiosity was now aroused, insisted on her coming out, whereupon she finally appeared at the exit, supported by her mother. Her long hair was hanging down over her face; for a moment she remained standing silent, with her eyes lowered, then retreated again. In view of the news he was bringing the agent had of course expected a jubilant welcome.

I photographed Kentapí at the time, as well as three days after her husband's return, when she presented herself to the councilors in the plaza, wearing the down decoration to which her status as a pepkahák-kuičwę'i, hence also a hąmrén, entitled her (pl. 7, *b*, *c*). No one would recognize that these pictures represent the same individual. Her husband, a tamhą'k, hence also down-decorated, stepped out of his sisters' house carrying a meat pie in his arms, and Kentapí then appeared at the door of her own dwelling, directly opposite. Both simultaneously walked along their respective radial paths to the plaza, two old men rose, went to meet them, took their meat pies, divested them of their decoration, and let them return to their houses.

When Kentapí's husband returned from his trip, he had first of all entered his sister's house and seated himself on a mat that had been spread for him in the antechamber. At once all his older kinswomen, as well as his mother-in-law, appeared to greet him singly or in pairs by way of the weeping salutation. It was not until the completion of this ceremony and after having eaten food offered by his sisters that Kentapí's sister, who had remained sitting by her mother at the door, said to him, "Kentapí calls you." He then went ahead of the two women across the plaza and to Kentapí's house, where she was seated on the platform bed in the partitioned space. She grasped him by the shoulders, put her forehead against his, and said, weeping, "You have been away so long, I have been so sorry for you." For all Timbira are convinced that the only spot in the world where it is possible to lead a life worthy of a human being is their native village.

In 1935 Kentapí again went into mourning—though not even approximately of the same strictness—for her brother Pądnhi, who was traveling about; once more her forehead hair grew down to the tip of her nose.

For a dead person mourning lasts at least a month. A widow who should have an affair prior to this period would be publicly censured. The only veritable row I witnessed among these people was when a widow got herself a lover hardly a week after her husband's death. Pųrãkwéi, the dead man's and my sister, called her names for nearly a quarter of an hour on the boulevard, shouting and threatening to kill her; in fact, she came to me in search of a weapon for the purpose. In her wrath she drew upon the Portuguese stock of vituperative terms, for her own tongue is obviously very poor in this respect.

Externally mourning involves a more or less strict seclusion and letting the hair grow, the latter being invariably observed by the survivors on the death of siblings, parents, parents' siblings, grandparents, and spouses. Another manifestation, and a very obtrusive one, is the daily lament over and above the expression of grief during the funeral (p. 133 ff.); indeed, in the period immediately after death it occurs several times a day. This observance is restricted to adults and practiced incomparably oftener by women than by men. The mourner no sooner recalls the

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586 (p. 179). A Neobrazilian is naturally struck by the Timbira's lack of that jealousy
837] so excessively developed in his own society and practically the basis of sex life there. From this difference he draws conclusions for the Indians that would hold for himself.

CHASTITY

831 Yet the Rąmkõ'kamekra women unquestionably have an ideal of conjugal fidelity;
837 without it, indeed, the grass widow's seclusion and mourning would be inconceivable, nor would adultery figure as a ground for divorce. Couples who have grown old together without ever separating are held up as paragons for the younger generation, and there is a fair number of such models in the tribe. The failure of many to attain the ideal does not disprove its existence. What characterizes Timbira in contrast to Neobrazilian notions of matrimony is the recognition of cases in which extramarital intercourse is not merely allowed but reckoned laudable and honorific, for example the exchange of wives by two kwų'nõ or the role of the two precentresses in peacemaking. Further, since the child's welfare is a primary consideration, a mother must confess extramarital relations during the period of pregnancy in order that the adulterer may be secluded synchronously with the husband, both being thereby publicly acknowledged as fathers. This custom presupposes the husband's ability to bear the avowal with equanimity—an idea utterly opposed to Neobrazilian sentiment.

577 Finally such an attitude is possible only among such a people as the Rąmkõ'ka-
155 mekra, where the individual seems to exist mainly in order to function in a dozen
156 distinct units in accordance with traditional prescriptions, where the supreme social
183 commandment is at any cost to avoid internal dissension. The Timbira define "good" and "bad" men accordingly. He is "bad" who quarrels with tribesmen, insists on personal privileges, will not yield his claims—in short, acts like a kupẽ (Neobrazilian). A "good" man is one who, irrespective of the obvious justice of his case, meets another halfway, not from fear, but in order to avoid dispute; *that* is acting "like us Indians." Tompey (to agree) is the highest social virtue. Further, the ceremonial from which no person can absent himself in many ways forces disputants into coöperative activities.

837 Mere suspicion is not held adequate to raise the charge of adultery, which can be
578 established only by an eyewitness. Whenever the subject is broached, the first ques-
593 tion asked is, "Have you seen it yourself?" The general aversion to disputes discourages informants: anyone who catches someone else's spouse *in flagrante delicto* maintains a discreet silence. Moreover, if the affair comes under discussion, this is restricted to the spouses and their kin; the fellow culprit is never, so far as I know, summoned for a reckoning.

I took cognizance of a fair number of occurrences of adultery. One day Wakái, a hąpín of mine, had an irrefutable proof of his wife Kañõ's infidelity. Taking his belongings, he left the house, halted in the space in front of it, and declared why he was acting thus. He spoke just loud enough to be heard by the neighbors, but with calm moderation. Kañõ was genuinely grieved over this consequence of her intrigue. No sooner had her husband departed than she was never seen outside her dwelling. Her relatives, the man's age class, and sundry others—I myself was asked to collaborate as Wakái's hąpín—all exerted themselves to patch up the difficulty and a week later the two were peaceably reunited.

In another case, a woman named Pyẽkára was a notorious adultress, but her husband, otherwise no weakling, ignored her waywardness because he was afraid of otherwise being separated from his dearly beloved child.

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593 182 Apart from disturbances of this sort and others due to the men's intoxication, marital life pursues an extraordinarily even course. Matrilocal residence safeguards women from their husbands' tyranny, while the manifold masculine organizations militate against henpecking. No woman ever tries to keep her husband from taking part in performances of his organizations; and no man forbids his wife to join in all of the three daily dances. Undoubtedly the multiplicity of ceremonial units tends to separate spouses and promotes each one's acting independently of the other. Man and wife never proceed to a festival or ceremony jointly, each going by himself whenever his presence is required.

837 833 Many a Neobrazilian neighbor acts as though he had difficulty avoiding fornication with Indian girls constantly offered by their fathers. Snethlage[200] thus heard about a mulatto alleged to have secured the *jus primae noctis* of all the virgins in a Krahõ' village in return for an annual payment of a dozen head of cattle. In 1936 I spent a fortnight in the Krahõ' village of Pedra Branca. When I was about to leave, the inhabitants and, above all, chief Vicente Kratpẽ' made every effort to attach me to the tribe, for they had grasped my attitude toward ancient Indian usage and wanted to use me to oppose the Baptist missionaries. I was requested to wait until after a certain festival, but I answered that time would not permit this. Then the chief offered me a girl; I declined. In the evening he and his wife came to me with two girls of whom I was to select the one I liked better. However, both were village wantons, daughters of the chief's sister; and he offered them to me not because I was a transient visitor, but in my capacity of a prospective fellow tribesman and champion of tribal tradition.

548 626 On the other hand, I have known a Ramkõ'kamekra who kept two young wantons, the daughters of a deceased sister, in his matrilineal home, and sold their favors to Neobrazilians. But when people began to gossip about his behavior, it was so vigorously condemned that he felt obliged to forego this source of income.

832 609 According to my observation young girls are the very ones to display a marked repugnance to Neobrazilians, especially if dark skinned and frizzy haired, since the strangers depart widely from the native ideal of manly beauty. Their clothing repels the lasses, their easy-going, sauntering gait seems ridiculous since a kind of dogtrot is prized as the acme of youthful dash; and altogether the inquisitive outsiders prove a disturbing element. If a Neobrazilian joins a bevy of girls, they soon begin to pass surly comments, and the one who best controls Portuguese speech bluntly asks what he wants and bids him depart. They delight in lying to such men, telling them the Indian men are likely to kill them, etc.

833 609 177 It is nevertheless quite possible that older wantons and perhaps an occasional married woman will yield access to civilized men; such cases hardly ever occur in the settlement, but only when the Indians scatter over their territory in small groups during the season before the ripening of the crops. At that time they are everywhere surrounded and hemmed in by Neobrazilians, camp in their immediate vicinity, and associate with them. Further, there was one woman in Ponto who was about thirty years old and was known to the Neobrazilians as Romana. She often spent weeks among them, was the only native woman addicted to drink, and had free intercourse with neighbors; the Indians shunned her, I think, from fear of venereal diseases.

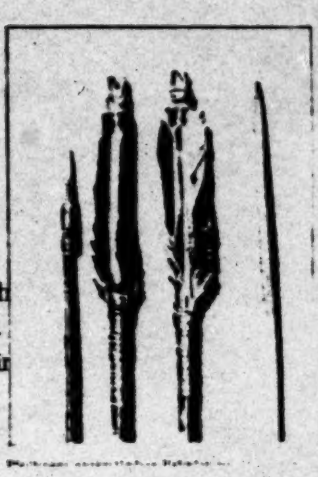
WANTONS

837 562 554 The wantons (mentíapeyti) form—apparently among all those Timbira tribes that are still tolerably numerous and well organized—a recognized, though not organized class. According to old custom, girls are wantons if they did not marry as

[200] Snethlage, Nordostbras. 170.

/49 cont./

123 521 [411] [237] The solemn silence which had prevailed at first was soon disrupted by lively chatter. The conversation between me and the chief was interrupted. Every object that I had with me was discussed in detail. I was questioned about their names and use.



Arrow types, opposed feathering. 1/2 nat. size.

From time to time a modest, or usually immodest wish was espressed to possess this or that. Then the conversation faltered again and I gained time to look around a little.

285 My admiration was aroused above all by the extremely well-plaited buriti mats and the different kinds of small baskets and decorated implements with plaiting around them, especially musical instruments and club-like staffs.

123 [142] [535] Unfortunately the pressure of time and an unmistakable mistrust stamped on the faces of my hosts did not permit more detailed notes.

Canella Indians in dance adornment.

126 [343] [252] [593] My wish to obtain photographs met with general understanding to be sure, but encountered such energetic resistance on the part of the wife of the chief, who with a few old women in an adjacent open hut, the kitchen, was devoting herself busily to the making of manioc flour.

/49 cont./
126 flour, that all the power of persuasion and even sharp words on the
593 part of her spouse were necessary in order to persuade her to remain and to continue to work within view of my camera.

846 During a brief visit to all the huts in the village I was able
[123] to ascertain above all the interesting fact of the persistence of the couvade among the Canella.

[123] /50/ According to the explanation of the chief, who accompanied me everywhere, the "man in childbed," who incidentally felt hurt by my indiscreet inquisitiveness and angrily turned his back on me, had been forced, since the delivery of his wife on the previous day, to lie down in her place and had to submit to strict regulations until the umbilical cord of the child had fallen off. He could not do any work, neither hunt nor fish. The slightest dietary mistake would result in a disturbance of the health or in the death of his child.

The mother of a newborn child has no restrictions imposed upon her, and, usually without suffering from any noticeably unpleasant effects after the act of giving birth, she goes about her normal activities as before. /Fig. 1 appears here./

123 The impatience of the chief permitted me to linger scarcely more than a few minutes in each hut.

123 All the ethnographic objects selected by me found their
126 way immediately into the habitation of the chief, who insisted
622 upon returning there as quickly as possible for a rapid conclusion
437 to the business of the exchange.

In the chief's hut there was then a rather stormy scene.

To be sure, the chief agreed to my wish to transport the collection to Casimba, but he demanded payment in advance, to which I did not agree.

Angered, some youths picked out their property from the collection spread out on the floor. Others soon followed their example and vanished with their possessions.

[152] The chief himself behaved no less furiously.

To show me his deepest contempt, he tore off his state apparel and hurled it, crumpled, into a dark corner, but calmed down again immediately when the expected effect on me did not